

THE HEBREW TEXT

OF

ZECHARIAH 1-8

COMPARED WITH THE DIFFERENT ANCIENT
VERSIONS

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EIJI ASADA

TOKYO, JAPAN

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The University of Chicago Press

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THE HEBREW TEXT OF ZECHARIAH 1-8, COMPARED WITH THE DIFFERENT ANCIENT VERSIONS.

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INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this thesis is to compare the Hebrew text of the first eight chapters of Zechariah with the ancient versions, and to examine the variations presented in the versions. In the presentation of the results, I have received suggestions from Workman's *The Text of Jeremiah*, and from Patterson's *The Septuagint Text of Hosea*. But I have tried, as far as possible, to consider the nature of every variation more carefully than Workman did, and to classify the variations more logically than Patterson. It is not the purpose to write a commentary on the book or notes upon the text, but simply and concisely to present the variations in the different versions and classify them according to their probable origin. Consequently there is no attempt made to explain all technical names and expressions common in the works of textual criticism.

The most important of all the versions is the Septuagint, and I have examined it more carefully than any other version. The LXX. of Zech. 1-8 seems to be the work of one man, perhaps different from the translator of the remaining chapters of the book. The translation is a very careful and excellent presentation of the original. But it is less literal than the LXX. translation of other portions of the Old Testament, and presents many interesting variations. There are cases of suggestive additions, of careless omissions, of free paraphrase, and of unintelligible translation. The next in importance is the Vulgate, which gives a very accurate and faithful translation of Zech. 1-8, and con-

tains fewer variations than the LXX., the Peshitto or the Targum. Therefore, it seems that the MSS. used by the Latin translator were not much different from the MSS. underlying the present Massoretic text. The Targum Jonathan of these chapters, like all other Targumim, is full of paraphrases and interpretations. But it furnishes many important suggestions, and, in a few cases, gives a better reading than that of the Massoretic text.

The Peshitto of Zech. 1-8 is also useful for textual criticism. True it is that the Syriac translation is, in general, free, obscure, and inaccurate; but many of its variations are to be accepted in preference to the Massoretic text. Besides these four chief versions the Arabic version has been consulted, which differs but little from the LXX., and the valuable translations by literal Aquila, cautious Theodotion and clever Symmachus.

LITERATURE.

For the constitution of the text the following books and editions have been used and consulted:

Baer and Delitzsch's edition of the Hebrew text, Tischendorf's sixth edition of the Septuagint, and the texts of the other versions as found in the *London Polyglot*, Origen's *Hexapla*, and Stier-Theile's *Polyglot*.

Some of the works constantly consulted are:

Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*.

C. H. H. Wright's *Zechariah and his Prophecies*.

W. H. Lowe's "Zechariah" in Ellicott's *O. T. Commentary for English Readers*.

A. Köhler, *Die Weissagungen Sacharjas*, chap. 9-14, Erlangen, 1861-2

Hitzig-Steiner's *Die zwölf Kleinen Propheten*.

T. W. Chambers' "Zechariah" in Lange's *Commentary*.

Maurer's *Commentarius in Vetus Testamentum*.

Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.*

Keil's *Minor Prophets*.

Briggs' *Messianic Prophecy*, etc.

For the sake of convenience and simplicity, Syriac and Arabic words are written in ordinary Hebrew characters.

VARIATIONS IN GENERAL.

Variations are numerous, interesting and, in some cases, extremely peculiar. There are many cases in which the readings differ in respect to the tense of a verb. For instance, the trans-

lators give the present tense for the past (1:6 in LXX.), the past for the future (8:3, in Vulg.), the future for the past (7:13; 8:10 in LXX.), the future for the present (1:5 in LXX.), the present for הָנִיחַ with participle (8:7 in LXX.), etc. The versions present also a few changes in regard to the person and number of a verbal form; *e. g.*, plural for singular (2:17 in Targum), 3d pers. for 1st pers. (2:15 in Pesh.), 1st pers. sing. for 3d pers. plur. 8:8 in LXX.), 3d pers. plur. for 1st pers. sing. (2:15 in LXX.), etc. It may be noted also that a finite verb is given for a participle (1:8; 2:7 in LXX.), a participle for a finite verb (2:17 in Pesh.), a finite verb for an indefinite (1:14, 17; 8:21 in Pesh.) an imperative for an infinitive (3:4 in LXX.), etc.

Not infrequently the translators change the form or construction of a noun, violating etymological or syntactical principles or disregarding the sense of the passage and its relation to the context. The genitive is translated by the accusative (1:17 in LXX.), the nominative by the accusative (7:2 in LXX., Vulg., Targ., Pesh.), the accusative by the nominative (7:7 in LXX., Vulg., Pesh.), the vocative by the accusative (2:11 in LXX.), etc. The plural is given in translation for the singular in the Hebrew (4:12; 7:5 in LXX.), the absolute state for the construct state (7:9; 8:16 in LXX.), a proper noun for a common noun where it was difficult to translate (6:14 in Vulg., Targ.), a common noun for a proper noun not familiar to the translator (7:2 in LXX., Pesh.), and a proper noun for another (5:11 in LXX., Targ., Pesh.; 7:2 in LXX.). A proper noun is sometimes mistaken for a verbal form (6:10, 14 in LXX.), and in one case an untranslatable foreign word is translated, and that of course inaccurately (5:6 in LXX.).

The pronoun also suffers from various changes. For instance, 2d pers. is given for 3d pers. (3:8 in Pesh.), plural for singular (5:5 in Targ.), an interrogative pronoun for another (5:5 in Targ.), etc.

In one instance a cardinal number is rendered by an ordinal (1:12 in LXX. and Vulg.) In some cases one part of speech is given for another, *e. g.*, a finite verb for a noun (1:3 in LXX.), an infinitive for a noun (4:7 in LXX.), a noun for a verb (7:3 in LXX.), etc. The form of a sentence is often

changed, *e. g.*, the Hebrew declarative is rendered as an interrogative (1:6 in Vulg.; 8:6 in LXX., Vulg., Eng., Pesh. [?]), and *vice versa* the interrogative translated as a declarative (1:12 in Vulg.), the interrogative is turned into the imperative (1:6 in LXX.), the declarative into the imperative (6:8 in Targ.), etc.

Besides these, there are a great many more difficult and perplexing variations. The addition and omission of letters, words, phrases, and sentences is very common; and their causes are various. We find also a few inadequate substitutions, and, in some cases, unnecessary repetitions. The arrangement of letters and words is often changed, and a new construction is given. Inaccurate or free translations are occasionally given, and the readings in the original text are obscured.

All these variations may be classified in two groups: (1) *Variations due to the translators*, and (2) *variations due to the manuscripts*. In the first division, I include those additions, omissions and variations of every other kind, for which the translators are responsible; and under the second I classify those variations which existed in the MSS. used by the translators, those which are due to the condition of the MSS., and those which had their origin after the work of translation had been done; (3) *variations of doubtful origin*. In respect to some variations, I have found it extremely difficult to determine to which class they properly belong. It seems to be better to leave such variations unclassified than to attempt to theorize concerning their origin on the basis of mere conjecture. Therefore, I group them together under a third head as doubtful cases.

I.

I. VARIATIONS DUE PRESUMABLY TO THE TRANSLATORS.

1. *Variations arising from a different pointing*.—For **בְּמַצְלָה** (1:8) LXX. seems to have read **בְּמִצְלָה** with *Dāgešh* in the **ל**, and renders *τῶν κατασκίων*. Pesh. follows this and translates **דְּמִטְלִין**. Keil says that **מִצְלָה** is the form for “shady place.” Fürst compares the word with **סִפָּה**. Böttcher would read **מִצְלָה**. But Baer’s reading **בְּמַצְלָה** (after Kimchi) seems to be best, and is supported by the Vulg. “in profundo.”—For **לִיְהוֹת** (2:4)

* Wellhausen, *Kleine Propheten*, p. 173: “Die Bedeutung des Wortes ist unbekannt.”

LXX. reads לִידוֹת and renders *eis χείρας*. This makes the passage meaningless.—לְעַבְדֵיהֶם (2:13). This reading is supported by the LXX., τοῖς δουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς; Pesh. reads עַבְדֵיהוֹן. But Baer gives the correct reading לְעַבְדֵיהֶם.—For אֲדֹנֵי (4:13; 6:4) LXX. reads אֲדֹנֵי, but the reading accepted by the Mass. Text, Vulg., Targ. and Pesh. is to be preferred.—For הַמִּזְבֵּחַ (7:3) LXX. reads הַמִּזְבֵּחַ and gives τὸ ἅγίασμα “the holy place.”—For מִשְׁפַּט (7:9; 8:16) LXX. reads מִשְׁפַּט.—For עַד אֲשֶׁר (8:20) Vulg. reads עַד אֲשֶׁר and renders “usquequo.”

2. *Variations arising from a different grouping or transposition of words.*—Some of the variations in this class are intentional changes made by the translators, and a few are due to the corruption of the text. But most of them seem to be due to the careless and hasty work of the translators.

In 1:5 Pesh. connects וְהַנְּבִיאִים with the preceding sentence, and destroys the beauty of the Hebrew parallelism.—Pesh. places וַיֹּאמְרוּ (1:11) immediately after וַיַּעַן, but the Massoretic order is to be preferred.—עוֹר (at the beginning of 1:17) is connected by LXX. with the preceding verse.—In 2:6, Pesh. transposes the words וְהַבְּנֵה and אֶרְכָּה, but other versions agree with the Hebrew.—Pesh. places הַשֹּׁטֶן (3:2) at the beginning of the address, *i. e.*, immediately after אֵל הַשֹּׁטֶן.—For כִּסֵּה וְהָב (6:11) Vulg. reads וְהָב וְכִסֵּה.—In 8:13 Pesh. places אֵל חִירָאוֹ at the end of the verse, and spoils the rhetorical beauty of the whole passage (8:9-13) which, in the Hebrew, ends as well as begins with the same words, תְּחֻקֵּיהֶם יְדִיכֶם.—In 8:15, Vulg. transposes אֶת יְרוּשָׁלַם and אֶת בֵּית יְהוּדָה.

3. *Variations arising from ignorance, disregard, or an unsuccessful presentation of Hebrew idioms, or from a violation of Hebrew syntax.*—While some allowance must be made for the difference of idioms and syntax in different languages, one cannot overlook those variations which could have been avoided, if the translators had been more faithful to the original text.

LXX. attempts to give the force of the cognate accusative קִצְּהָ . . . קִצְּהָ (1:2), by rendering ὡργίσθη . . . ὀργήν μεγάλην, which is somewhat awkward.—For וַאֲמַרְתָּ (1:3), Pesh. gives the actual impv. form אֲמַר, and fails to present the force of the ו

consecutive. But the Heb. is more idiomatic and therefore preferable.—LXX. renders עֲמֹר (1:8) by εἰστήκει, which is less vivid than the original.—For זֶה שְׁבַעִים שָׁנָה (1:12), LXX. gives τοῦτο ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος. Vulg. follows LXX., and translates “septuagesimus annus.” But in view of Targ., Pesh., and the Heb., we must reject the LXX. reading, which does not suit the context so well.—Targ. renders וַיִּתְרַעֵי (1:17) by וַיִּתְרַעֵי. This is impossible, because the verb is not followed by the preposition ל, but by ב.—For וְהִלְבֵּשׁ (3:4), LXX. gives καὶ ἐνδύσατε, and fails to express the peculiar force of the perf. הִעֲבִירָתִי, followed by וְהִלְבֵּשׁ (cf. Harper, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 28, 4, a). Targ. and Pesh. present the sense of these words fairly well, though they weaken the original force. Wellhausen reads וְהִלְבֵּשׁ.—For אֱלֹהֵי שֵׁנִי בְנֵי אֱלֹהִים הִצְהָרָה הַעֲמִידִים (4:14) LXX. gives οὗτοι οἱ δύο υἱοὶ τῆς πιότητος παρεστήκασιν. This rendering would be for שְׁנֵי בְנֵי הִצְהָרָה הָאֱלֹהִים הִעֲמִידִים.—For בְּאֵמָה (5:2), LXX. has πῆχεων, and Vulg. “cubitum,” both of which renderings fail to express the force of the preposition ב. Targ. and Pesh. omit the preposition altogether.—For יֹצְאוֹת מִהַצִּיב (6:5), LXX. gives ἐκπορεύονται παραστήναι; Vulg. “egrediuntur ut stent”; Pesh. דְּקִימָן הָיִי. But all these versions utterly fail to give the original meaning.—For אֵרֶק צִפּוֹן (6:8), LXX. gives the extremely literal translation γῆν βορρᾶ.—For עֲטֹרוֹת (6:11), plural in form and singular in sense, is incorrectly rendered by LXX. στεφάνους; Vulg. “coronas”; Arab. أَكْأَلِيْل. Targ. gives the compromising translation כְּלִיל רֵב, but Pesh. has the simple כְּלִילָא. The same word in 6:14 is again taken by Vulg. as plural, but by LXX. as singular. See Wellhausen, 179, on this verse.—In הֲלוֹא אַתְּ הַדְּבָרִים (7:7) LXX., Vulg. and Pesh. disregard אַתְּ and take הַדְּבָרִים as the subject of the verb “to be” understood. Wellhausen reads אַתְּ אֱלֹהִים for אַתְּ.—Vulg. renders לְבָשׁ (7:12) by “cor suum,” failing to express the collective idea of the pron. suffix in the original.—LXX. renders עִיר הָאֱמֶת (8:3) by πόλις ἀληθινή without the article. Wright translates “a city of the truth,” without ascribing the absence of the article to the syntax of the construct state. But Targ. has קִרְחָא דְּקוּשְׁטָא.—הִר הַקֹּדֶשׁ (8:3) is rendered by LXX. ὄρος ἁγίον without the article. But Targ. and Pesh. give the correct translation טוֹרָא קִדִּישָׁא.

4. *Variations which may be ascribed to carelessness and inaccuracy of the translators.*—Under this division may be included many of the omissions and additions of unessential particles, conjunctions, adverbs, pronouns, etc. For instance:

The LXX. λέγει for נאם (1:3, 4, 16; 2:9, 10, 14; 3:9, 10; 5:4; 8:6, 11, 17) loses sight of the peculiar force of the original word. The Targ. אָמַר, and the Syr. אָמַר are better.—נא (1:4) is omitted both by LXX. and by Pesh., but the general tone of such an earnest request as expressed in the passage favors its presence. For ויֵּץ (1:10; 4:5; 6:5), Pesh. gives עַנָּא without the conjunction before it.—LXX. omits אַתָּה (1:12) and fails to present the emphatic force in the original.—For לֹא־אֶמַּר (1:14), Pesh. gives ואֶמַּר, which, of course, is wrong. So also in 1:17.—In 2:17, Pesh. renders נַעֲרָא by מַחֲזִיעַר.—הִנֵּה (3:9) is omitted by LXX.—וְהִנֵּה (4:2) is omitted by Pesh.—In 4:6 ויֵּץ and אֶמַּר (twice) are omitted by Pesh.—Pesh. renders וְאֵין (4:11, 12) without the conjunction and destroys the idiomatic Hebrew.—הַמִּיָּקִים (4:12), which is the noun-predicate of אֶסֶר, is connected by Pesh. with צַחֲחוּת, confusing the gender. Symmachus also presents this error.—וְזֹאת (5:7) is omitted by Pesh.—In 6:3 Vulg. read בָּרִים וְאַמְצִים.*—The second לֹא־אֶמַּר in 7:3 is omitted by Pesh.—For ויִּהְיֶה (7:13), LXX. incorrectly gives καὶ ἔσται. This error affects the LXX. translation of the following verbs.—Vulg. transposes אֶשֶׁר in 8:9.—From נִחַמְתִּי (8:14), Pesh. omits לֹא and renders וְאַהֲפַקְתָּ. (So in London Polyglot, but Lee's edition has לֹא).—From וישְׁבִי עִירִים (8:20), Pesh. omits ו and takes וישְׁבִי עִירִים as appositive to עָמִים.—In 8:21, Pesh. seems to have read ויאמַר for לא־אֶמַּר.

5. *Obscure rendering and the omission of difficult words.*—In many cases, the translators attempt to give the general sense of a passage, in which they find some word or words too difficult to render literally. This brings forth an obscure and sometimes unintelligible translation. It seems to be more common to omit difficult words altogether than to give an uncertain translation of them.

Pesh. renders הַהֲדָסִים (1:8) simply by אֵילָנָא, and hesitates

* On 6:3 see especially Lagarde, *Nominal-übersicht*, 29 rm. LXX. ψαρός, Targ. קִיטְמָן, of ashy-gray color. Aquila κάτρεπος, agreeing with Hebrew; Lagarde proposes to read מֵאֲבִים, "of whitish color."

to express what kind of trees they are. See also the Syr. of 1:10, 11. LXX. translates regularly by *δρῆ* (cf. 6:1).—In 6:3, Pesh. seems to feel the difficulty connected with **אֲנִיצִים**, and omits the word altogether. Cf. 6:7.—In 6:14, Vulg. renders **וְלִחְךָ** by “et Hem,” and Targ. also takes it as a proper name. But Pesh. omits the uncertain word **חֶךְ**, and substitutes **וְלִיִּשְׂיָא** **בֵּר צִפְנִיָּא**. Cf. v. 10.—**מֶלֶךְ** (7:2) part of a proper name, is rendered by LXX. and Pesh. as a common noun; *ὁ βασιλεὺς*, **מֶלֶכָא**.—**שִׁכְנֵחִי . . . שְׁבַחִי** (8:3) is differently rendered by translators. Pesh. does not seem to be sure about the tense of these verbs, and avoids the difficulty by rendering both by the participles **מַתְּבִיא** and **שָׂרָא**.—**אֵת כָּל אֱלֹהֵי אֲשֶׁר שָׁנְאָתִי** (8:17) is difficult in construction. LXX. renders *ταῦτα πάντα ἐμίσησα*, Theodotion adds *ἃ* before *ἐμίσησα*. Pesh. follows the LXX. Vulg. and Targ. have tried to translate the **אֲשֶׁר**, but have failed to give the force of **אֵת**. On the other hand, LXX. and Pesh. have preserved the original construction of **אֵת כָּל אֱלֹהֵי**, and consequently neglected the word **אֲשֶׁר**.—The meaning of **צֹמ הָרִבְעִי וְצֹמ הַחֲמִישִׁי וְצֹמ הַשְּׁבִיעִי וְצֹמ הָעֲשִׂירִי** (8:19) must have been very obscure in the mind of the LXX. translator, for he renders *νηστεία ἢ τετράς καὶ νηστεία ἢ πέμπτη, νηστεία ἢ ἐβδόμη καὶ νηστεία ἢ δεκάτη*. But Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion understand the correct meaning, and translate rather inexactly *νηστεία ἢ τοῦ τετάρτου, καὶ ἢ τοῦ πέμπτου, καὶ ἢ τοῦ ἐβδόμου, καὶ ἢ τοῦ δεκάτου*.—For **עַד אֲשֶׁר** (8:20), Pesh. has **מְכִיל**, but LXX. omits **אֲשֶׁר**. To avoid the difficulty, Henderson supplies **יְהִי** between the two words.

6. *Explanatory additions*.—When the translators think the original to be too concise, too elliptical, too figurative, too obscure or too anthropomorphic, they supply some words or phrases by way of explanation.

After **בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁמִינִי** (1:1) Pesh. adds the phrase **בִּירוּחָא**. This seems to be quite a common phraseology of the prophets (cf. Ezek. 26:1; 31:1; Hag. 1:1, *et al.*), and it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the phrase may have existed in the original text. Köhler suggests that the word **חֹדֶשׁ** means the day of the new moon, *i. e.*, the first day of the month. But it is doubtful that “the first day of the month” should mean more than “the beginning of the month.” Therefore, the phrase seems to

be an explanatory gloss; and even if it was in the original, we must be grateful to the editor for omitting it.—Before מַעַט (1:15) Targ. inserts עַל עַמִּי, but this reading is not supported by other versions.—Before קרא (1:17) LXX. adds the extra sentence καὶ εἶπε πρὸς μὲ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοί. But this insertion seems to be out of place.—Vulgate explains זרר (2:4) by the additional phrase, “per singulos viros.”—After אָלוּ (2:8) LXX. supplies λέγων, which is unnecessary.—After הַמְלֶאֶךְ (3:3) Pesh. adds יהוה, and makes its favorite phrase.—In 3:4, Pesh. gives מְלֶאכֶה as the subject of וַיֵּץ.—For בְּגָדִים (3:5) Targ. and Pesh. seem to have read either בְּגָדִים טְהוֹרִים or בְּזֻדִּים טוֹבִים. Wellhausen, 176: bei בְּגָדִים, vermisst man das adj. “rein.”—Before הַזֶּהָב (4:12 end), LXX. supplies τὰς ἐπαρυστρίδας.—After כְּהֵן (6:13) Targ. adds רַב.—For וַיְחַקֵּר (6:15) LXX. has καὶ οἱ μακρὰν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν.—For בְּחִמְשֵׁי וּבְשִׁבְעֵי (7:5) is rendered by Pesh. בִּירְחָא לְמִשְׁמַעֲנִי, which does not suit the context.—For כָּאֲשֶׁר קרא (7:13) LXX. ὁν τρόπον εἶπε.—For לְצִוּן (8:2) LXX. seems to have read לְיִרוּשָׁלַם, and renders τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τὴν Σιών.—Targ. interprets אֶת יְרוּשָׁלַם (8:15) by לִיתְבִּי יְרוּשָׁלַם.—For עַמִּים (8:20), LXX. reads עַמִּים רַבִּים.—For לְבַקֵּשׁ אֶת יְהוָה (8:21, 22), LXX. gives ἐκζητῆσαι τὸ πρόσωπον κυρίου, and Targ. “מִן קִדְּם.”

7. *Double translation.*—The translator gives, side by side, different renderings of single words, when he is not quite sure of the original meaning. For example: In 1:8, for שְׂרָקִים LXX. gives καὶ ψαροὶ καὶ ποικίλοι, which would show that the translator himself did not know the exact meaning of the word. Cf. 6:3.

8. *Variations arising from misunderstanding or misinterpretation of a word or passage.*—For בֶּן עֲדוּ (1:1) LXX. gives υἱὸν Ἰδδῶ, thus making זְכַרְיָה and בֶּן עֲדוּ stand in apposition. The translator seems to have taken Zechariah not as grandson of Iddo, as in Vulg., but simply as his descendant. So also in 1:7. Lowe, however, inclines to take the υἱὸν as a corruption of υἱοῦ.—יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת occurs forty-four times in the first eight chapters, and eight times in the remainder of the book of Zechariah (1:3, three times, 4, 6, 12, 14, 16, 17; 2:12, 13, 15; 3:7, 9, 10; 4:6, 9; 5:4; 6:12, 15; 7:3, 4, 9, 12 twice, 13; 8:1, 2, 3, 4, 6 twice, 7, 9 twice, 11, 14 twice, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23; 9:15; 10:3; 11:5; 12:2, 7;

14:16, 21 twice). In all but three places, LXX. renders *κύριος παντοκράτωρ*, and twice *κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων* (1:9; 7:4). The Syriac translation *הִלְחָנָא* corresponds to the LXX. *παντοκράτωρ*. All the attempted translations fail to give the original meaning and are no better than the mere transliteration *σαβαώθ* (13:2). Vulg. gives "dominus exercituum," which is perhaps the meaning in the original.—LXX. renders *יָחִיד* (1:5) by *ζήσονται*, and this is followed by Vulg. which gives "vivent." But the context requires the present tense, which is well expressed in the Hebrew.—Vulg. takes the whole of 1:6 as a question, but LXX. changes the interrogative sentence in the verse into an imperative sentence with the verb *δέχεσθε*.—For *צִוִּיתִי* (1:6) LXX. gives *ἐντέλλομαι* without any sufficient reason.—For *יָשׁוּבוּ* (1:6) LXX. incorrectly gives *καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν*.—*אֲשֶׁר זָמַנְתָּה* (1:12) is rendered by LXX. *ὅς ἐπερείδες* and by Targ. *שְׁמִינִי עֲלֵיהֶן לֹא*. But Vulg. and Pesh. agree with the Hebrew.—Vulg. translates *זֶה שְׁבַעִים שָׁנָה* (1:12) by "Iste iam septuagesimus annus est," and does not include the sentence in the question introduced by *עַד מָתִי*.—*תְּפֻצְנָה* (1:17) is incorrectly rendered by Pesh. *נִסְתָּרֵךְ*; Targ. *יִחְמִלֵךְ*; LXX. *διαχυθήσονται*; but Vulg. gives the correct translation "affluent."—Targ. fails to give the original sense of 2:11.—For *הַיֹּשְׁבִים* (3:8) Pesh. has *הַלֵּךְ דְּקִימִין*, which is not supported by any other version.—*צִמְחָה* (3:8) is certainly a difficult word. LXX. renders *Ἀνατολήν*; Vulg. "Orientem"; and Pesh. *דְּנִהָא*. These translators either take the word as an equivalent of Syr. *צִמְחָה*, or read *מִזְרָח*; cf. Zech. 6:12, Isa. 4:2, Jer. 23:5, 33:15. Aquil. renders the word by *ἀναφνὴ*, and Symm. by *βλάστημα*. The last two seem to express the original most satisfactorily.—For *פִּתְחָהּ* (3:9), LXX. gives *ὀρύσσω βόθρον*, probably reading *פִּתְחָהּ*; Aquil. *διαγλύφω ἀνοίγματα αὐτῆς*; Targ. *אֲנָא גְלִי הַזֵּיתָהּ*; Pesh. *בַּתָּה אֲנָא חֲדַעִיהָ*. None of these readings seem to be better than the Hebrew, which is followed by Vulg. and Symm.—For *מִשְׁתִּי* (3:9) LXX. gives *ψηλαφήσω*, and this is followed by Pesh.—LXX. seems to regard *לְמִישַׁר* (4:7) as an Aramaic infinitive from the root *יָשַׁר*, and renders *τοῦ κατορθῶσαι*. But this word is undoubtedly a noun, as we find *כְּמִשְׁרָא* in Targ. and *אֲלֵא אֵיךְ פִּקְעָתָהּ* in Pesh.; an imperative form of *הִיָּה* has probably been omitted before *לְמִישַׁר*.—*וְשִׁמְחֻהוּ וְרֵאוּ* (4:10) is rendered by Targ. *וְיִהְיֶה*

כר יחזי and by Pesh. ונתרון ונתרון.—For האבן הבדיל (4:10) LXX. gives τὸν λίθον τὸν κασσιτέρινον; Aquil. κασσιτέρον; Symm. τὸν κεχωρισμένον; Theod. ἀριθμοῦ; Vulg. “lapidem stanneum;” Targ. אבן משקולחא; Pesh. לכאפא פודשנא. None of these translations can express the exact meaning of the original; for, in fact the Hebrew הבדיל is almost untranslatable.—שבלי (4:12) is rendered by LXX. κλάδοι, and by Vulg. “spicae.” The former is better than the latter.—For היצהר (4:14), LXX. gives τῆς πύοτης; Aquil. στιλπνότητος; Symm. ἐλαίου; Theod. λαμπρότης.—LXX. takes מגלה (5:1) either as a feminine form of מגל or as an equivalent of the Aramaic מגלא, and renders δρέπανον. In this it is followed by the Pesh., but Aquil. and Theod. render διφθέρα; Symm. κεφαλὴς or εἶλημα. LXX. is certainly mistaken.—For בריים אמצים (6:3) LXX. gives ποικίλοι ψαροί; Targ. פציחין קטמנין; Symm. and Theod. prefer πελιδνοί to ποικίλοι, but Aquil. takes the usual meaning of אמצים and renders καρτεροί. In 6:7 האמצים is rendered by LXX. and Targ. in the same way. But Theod. suggests ἰσχυροί; Aquil. offers an emendation by giving πυρροί; but Symm. strangely gives συνεσφιγμένοι.—הניחו את רוחי (6:8) is taken by Targ. as an imperative sentence.—מחלדי (6:10) is rendered by LXX. παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ παρὰ τῶν χρησίμων αὐτῆς, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπεγνώκων αὐτήν. The translator was either ignorant that these are proper nouns, or regarded them as symbolical names. A similar case may be noted in 6:14, where להלם ולטוביה ולידעיה is rendered by τοῖς ὑπομένουσι καὶ τοῖς χρήσιμοις αὐτῆς, καὶ τοῖς ἐπεγνώκωσιν αὐτήν. (Codex A: αὐτῶν).—והוא ישא הוד (6:13) is variously rendered. LXX. translates the word הוד by ἀρετήν; Aquil. ἐπιδοξότητα; another copy εὐπρέπειαν; still another δόξαν; Vulg. “gloriam;” Targ. זין; Pesh. renders the whole sentence by והו נקבל שובהא.—LXX., Vulg., Targ. and Pesh. take בית אל (7:2) as in the accusative of direction.—For לבית (7:3) LXX. gives ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ.—בחישי ובשביעי (7:5) is rendered by LXX. ἐν ταῖς πέμπταις ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐβδόμαις. But Aquil., Symm., and Theod. translate ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ. The latter is the correct rendering.—For ארץ המדה (7:14), LXX. incorrectly gives γῆν ἐκλεκτήν. ושכנתי . . . שבתי (8:3); Vulg. attaches two different tenses to these verbs, and translates “reversus sum . . . et habitabo.” Pesh. avoids the difficulty by

rendering both by participles. Wright regards the first verb as a present-perfect, and the second as a present. But this does not suit the context so well as the LXX. *καὶ ἐπιστρέψω . . . καὶ κατασκηνώσω*, which Targ. practically follows, by rendering **אחורב** *אחורב* **ואשרי שכנתי** . . . —Targ. renders **ברחבתיה** (8:5) by **בפתחא** in order to distinguish the word from **רחבות** at the beginning of the verse.—The second half of 8:6 is taken interrogatively by LXX., Vulg., Targ., and uncertain in Pesh. Hitzig, Köhler and others object to it.—**מושיע** (8:7) is rendered by LXX. *σώζω*, but by Vulg. “salvabo.” The latter seems to be the meaning in the original.—**לאלהים** . . . **לעם** (8:8) is rendered by Vulg. “in populum . . . in Deum.” This literal and unintelligible rendering shows that the translator did not understand the meaning of the passage.—For **להבנות** (8:9) LXX. gives *ἀφ’ οὗ ᾧ κδομήται*. From this, Hitzig concludes that LXX. read **מהבנות**. Hitzig does not seem to have read the LXX. translation of the entire verse very carefully.—**מן הצר** (8:10) is understood by Vulg. and Targ. to mean “on account of the affliction,” but Pesh. gives the correct translation, **מן קדם אלוצא**.—**זרע השלום** (8:12) is rendered by Targ. **זרעא יהי שלם**, and by Pesh. **זרעא נהוא בשלמא**. But the Vulg. translation “semen pacis erit” seems to be best.—For **ברכה** (8:13) LXX. gives *ἐν εὐλογίᾳ* and weakens the sense of the original.

9. *Free translation or paraphrase.*—This is very common, as every biblical student knows, in Targ. and Pesh. The variations in this class may be divided into two groups.

(a) Cases in which the original sense is fairly presented.

For **הוהרגו . . . דארגיו על קצת** (1:2), Targ. gives **הוהרגו ואחפני בנימירי** (1:3) Targ. has **קדמוהי**.—For **ואשוב אליכם** (1:3) Targ. has **לאיטבא לכו**.—For **לא הקשיבו אלי** (1:4), LXX. gives *οὐ προσέσχον τοῦ εἰσακούσαι μου*, and Targ. **לא אציתו למימרי**. They seem simply to have paraphrased the same Hebrew text.—Pesh. paraphrases the whole of 1:5 as follows: **אינא אהן אבהי כון רנבוי דלמא לעלם** (1:11) is rendered by Targ. **יתבא שלוא חייך**.—For **ישבת ושקטת** (1:11) is rendered by Targ. **ושקטא**.—For **פרשתי** (2:10) LXX. has *συνάξω*. The meanings of the words are opposite to each other. But this is a clear case of paraphrase, because the scattering of the people from Babylon is practically the same as the gathering of them into Jerusalem. One

would expect something like קבצתי (Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, 175).—LXX. paraphrases מַחֲלָצוֹת (3:4) by *ποδῆρη*.—For *עַל רֹאשָׁהּ* (4:2), LXX. gives *ἐπάνω αὐτῆς*. (It is equivalent to the preceding *עֲלֶיהָ*, Wellhausen, 177).—For *בְּרוּחִי* (4:6) Targ. has *בְּמִימְרִי*.—Targ. takes *הַר הַגְּדוֹל* (4:7) as referred to Rome, and gives a very full paraphrase of the whole verse.—For *הָאִיפָה* (5:6), LXX. gives *τὸ μέτρον*, and Vulg. “amphora,” both of which are inferior to Symmachus’ transliteration *αἰφί*.—For *הַנּוֹר* (7:3), Vulg. gives “vel sanctificare me debeo,” and Targ. *הָאֲמֵנֶנֶת נַפְשִׁי מִחַפְנוּקָן*.—For *וְלִבָּם שָׁמוּ* (7:3) LXX. gives *ἡδὲ ἱκανὰ ἔτη*.—For *שָׁמִיר* (7:12), Vulg. has “et cor suum posuerunt ut adamantem.”—For *עַל כָּל הַגּוֹיִם* (7:14) Targ. gives *בְּיַד עַמִּימָא*.—LXX. renders *אַל תִּירָאוּ* (8:13) by *θαρσεῖτε*, which is less exact than the Vulg. “nolite timere.” Cf. 8:15.—For *אֱלֹהֵי הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשׂוּ* (8:16) Pesh. gives the free translation *הַלֵּן פִּתְגָמָא עֲבָדוּ*.

(b) Cases in which the original sense is missed.

Targ. paraphrases the second half of 1:5 as follows: *וְאִם תִּזְמְרוּן נְבִיאָא לֹא לַעֲלֵמָא קִמְיָן*. But this does not agree with the context.—For *הָיָה הָיָה וְנָסָו* (2:10), Targ. gives the paraphrase, *אֲכַלּוּ לְמַבְדְּרִיא וְאָמְרוּ לַהֲוֹן אֲתַכְשֵׁנוּ בְּאַרְעָא*. This is so different from the Hebrew that I am inclined to regard it as a Targumic paraphrase of a different reading. At any rate, the reading is not in harmony with the remainder of the paragraph. In vv. 11-13, 14-16, 17, the commands are first given in the imperative form, and then followed by the reasons or grounds thereof, introduced by *כִּי*. Why should not v. 10 also have the same formula, seeing that its second half is a causal clause introduced by *כִּי*? It is true that *אֲכַלּוּ* introduces an imperative sentence, but it is not part of the divine message, which begins with *אֲתַכְשֵׁנוּ*.—For *מִנֶּקֶת אֵת יָדֵי* (2:13) Targ. gives *יָת מְרִים*.—For *הָיָה לְבַשׁ בְּגָדִים צֹאֲרִים* (3:3) Targ. has *הָיָה בְּנִין הַנֶּסֶבִּין לַהֲוֹן כֶּשֶׁן לְכַהֲנָתָא*.—For *בְּנֵי רַבְרִבָּא* (4:14) Targ. seems to disregard the suffix in *עֵינָם* (5:6) and paraphrases *אֲנֹן גִּלְן קִדָּם*.—The Targumic paraphrase of v. 7 is extremely free.—For *הִנֵּהוּ אֵת רוּחִי* (6:8), Targ. gives *אֲמַר לַהֲוֹן עֲבִידוּ יָת רַעוּתִי*. Wellhausen, 179: one would expect the imperfect *יִהְיֶה*.—For *וּמִתַּחֲתֵי יִצְמַח* (6:12) Targ. gives the strange paraphrase, *עֲתִיד דִּיתְגְּלִי וְיַחֲרָבִי*.

—For הלא אתם האכלים ואתם חשתי (7:6) Targ. has לאיטבא לכוך אתון שתן. This rendering is inferior to the elliptical construction in the original, and is favored by no other versions. —ואיש משענתו בידו מרב ימים (8:4) is incorrectly rendered by Targ. וגבר עובדוהי תקניא יגנון עלוהי מסגי יומיא. Targ. wrongly renders part of 8:6 by כד תיקר דחלתי בעיני שארא דעמא הדין ביומיא האנון אף קדמי ייקרון.

10. *Interpretation rather than translation.*—For במצלה (1:8) Targ. gives בבבל, comparing “the shady valley” with Babylon.—Targ. חקנין (1:13) is rendered by Targ. ערי (1:17) by קרי עמי.—For קרנות (2:1) Targ. gives מלכוך, which seems to be an interpretation, though the translator may have read מלכות.—For כל דשר (2:17) Targ. gives כל צמח, which cannot be accepted.—Targ. interprets צמח (3:8) by משיחא.—For זאת האיפה (5:6) Targ. has דהו אלקי עמא דהו.—For נסבין ויהבין במכילתא דשקרא (5:11), LXX. gives γῆ Βαβυλῶνος; Targ. מדינת בבל; and Pesh. ארעא דבביל.—In the place of העטרת (6:14) Targ. has חשבחתא.—For בנסלו (7:1), Pesh. gives דהו כנוך, which is no better than a mere transliteration as given in LXX., Vulg. and Arabic.—For הצום (7:5) Targ. has מתענין קדמי.—Pesh. interprets גר ועני (7:10) by ולמיסנא ולדמיסנא לותי.—For ולבם שמו שמיר (7:12), LXX. gives καὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἔταξαν ἀπειθῆ.—For כאשר קרא (7:12) is rendered by Pesh. פוקרנא.—For עצומים (8:22) Targ. gives כמא דאתנבאו להון נביא רברבין. LXX. πολλά, and by Targ. רברבין.

11. *The translators change the text*, so as to avoid difficulties, or to suit their own interpretation.

For הלוא (1:6), LXX. seems to have read אשר, or omitted the word altogether.—For ושכנתי (2:15), Pesh. evidently read ושכן. But LXX. has καὶ κατασκηνώσουσιν, which does not suit the context very well.—הס (2:17) is taken by Targ. as plural.—LXX. omits ואמר (3:5), taking the last part of the preceding verse, as well as the first sentence of this verse, as Jahveh's address to the angel attendants. But this omission is quite inconsistent with the LXX. translation of the preceding verse. Wellhausen, 176, adopts reading of the LXX. (שימו).—For המה (3:8), Pesh. evidently read אחם.—For גפן . . . האנה (3:10)

Targ. read תאנו . . . גפנו, but this rendering weakens the figure in the original, which is a characteristic feature of Messianic speech (*cf.* Mic. 4:4).—For ביד (4:12) LXX. has ἐν ταῖς χερσί.—In 5:5, Targ. read מי for מיה, and האלה for הזאת.—Pesh. omits והכל את יהוה (6:12), supposing, probably, that the copyist added here by mistake the first part of the following verse. But LXX. seems to regard והוא יבנה את היכל יהוה in 6:13 as an unnecessary repetition of the last sentence of the preceding verse, and omits it altogether. I think the LXX. reading is more plausible than the Syriac.—For ורגם (7:2) Pesh. has ושלח.—For הנבאים (7:3), Targ. gives ספריא.—For אל תחשבו בלבבכם (7:10), Vulg. has “non cogitet in corde suo,” but the Heb. is more idiomatic and is supported by LXX., Targ., Pesh., and partly the Arabic.—For כאשר קרא (7:13), Pesh. gives על דקריה אנון. This reading is very smooth and seems to be correct.—משחקים (8:5) is rendered by Targ. משבחין (*cf.* 2 Sam. 6:5). For ברחבתי (8:5), some Greek manuscripts of LXX. are based on the reading ברחבתיהם.—For ושכני (8:8) LXX. reads ושכנתי.—LXX. renders העם הזה (8:12) by τοῦ λαοῦ μου τούτου, which is not correct, containing an addition.—In 8:15, LXX. adds καὶ before וזמיתי, because the translator read השבתי for שבתי. — For ודינא שלמיא (8:16), Pesh. gives ודינא שלום.

II.

VARIATIONS DUE PRESUMABLY TO THE MSS.

1. *Errors made by the copyists of the versions.*—In this class I include those errors which are due not to the original Hebrew text, or to the translators, but to the copyists of the text of a translation.

(a) Addition: For ויתנו (7:11), Vulg. has “et averterunt,” which seems to be, as Wright suggests, a mistake of the copyists for “et verterunt.”

(b) Omission: For מבוא השמש (8:7), some Codd. of the LXX. have simply δυσμῶν, but others add ἡλίου.—In 8:13, LXX. has ὁ οἶκος Ἰούδα καὶ οἶκος Ἰσραήλ. The omission of the article before the second οἶκος is to be taken as a copyist's error.

(c) Repetition: For התורה (7:12), LXX. has τοῦ νόμου μου. The μου seems to be a repetition by mistake of the latter part of the preceding word, νόμου.

(d) Alteration: For הָלֹא הִשִּׁיגוּ (1:6), LXX. gives οἱ κατελάβοσαν. But it seems to be a corruption of οὐ κατελάβοσαν.

2. *Errors due to the condition of the texts used by the translators.*—That the texts used by the translators were in quite bad condition is evident from the existence of those peculiar variations which could not have arisen, if the writing had been clear, full, and exact. Some of the causes of these variations are:

(a) Omission of the final ם. "According to Lagarde, the three letters ה, מ, ת, when occurring at the end of a word, were not written in the MSS. used by LXX., but represented by the mark of abbreviation (") which already appears on Hebrew coins." (Driver's *The Books of Samuel*, Introd., p. lxix). In my examination of Zech. 1-8, I have found at least one variation due to the omission of the final ם.—For עֲרֵי מִטּוֹב (1:17) LXX. and Pesh. read עֲרִים מִטּוֹב, and Targ. עֲרֵי זְמַי טוֹב. It is possible that the ם of מִטּוֹב originally belonged to עֲרֵי, but it is more probable that the final ם was omitted, as usual, in the original MSS.; and LXX. and Pesh. seem to present the correct reading.

(b) Confusion of consonants. Considering the condition of the ancient MSS. used by the translators, and also their method of translation, it is not at all improbable that some consonants were confounded with others. In some cases the confusion seems to have arisen from a similarity in form, and in others, from a similarity in sound.

For לַהֲחַרֵּד (2:4) LXX. reads לַהֲחַרִּיד and renders τοῦ δέξιναι. Schleusner thought that the LXX. translation has simply given the sense of the passage. But Vulg., Targ., and Pesh., though they do not give exact equivalents of the word, seem to have intended to translate לַהֲחַרֵּד, which is certainly the correct reading.—The confusion of ה with ח is quite common. In 2:6, LXX. fails to give the suffix of אֲרֻכָּה. In 3:9, פִּתְחָהּ is rendered by LXX. without the suffix. In 4:2, LXX. and Pesh. again omit the suffix from גִּלְהָ. In 4:11, LXX. and Targ. do not give the suffix of שְׂמִינִיָּה. Again in 5:2, LXX. omits the suffix from וְרַחֲבָהּ . . . אֲרֻכָּה. There is one case in which ח is taken for ה, viz: in 4:3, LXX. reads הַגִּלְהָ for הַחֲלָה. Wellhausen, 177: "for מִימִינָהּ read מִימִין הַגִּלְהָ, the suffix referring to

הַמְנוּרָה; cf. 11; הַגִּלְגָּל is a false paraphrase."—For פְּרוּת (2:8), LXX. reads פְּרִיֹת, and renders κατακάρπως; Symmachus ἀτειχίστως; Theodotion εἰς πλατός. But Vulg., Targ., and Pesh. agree with the Hebrew. Also see Wellhausen, *Kleine Propheten*, 175.—For כְּאַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת (2:10), LXX. reads בְּאַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת. Several MSS. and Vulg. read בְּאַרְבַּע. This reading seems to be better than the Hebrew, because אַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת simply means "the four directions," and not the actual "winds." Wright, however, does not believe בְּאַרְבַּע to have been the reading of Vulg. or Pesh., and holds that the latter, at least, has probably read לְאַרְבַּע. The reading of an original MS. כ for ב (both being very much alike; see Riehm-Baethgen, *Handwörterbuch*, article "Schrift") is very common. Mention may be made here of Hos. 9:7; Amos 5:8, 17; Mic. 1:2; Zech. 2:10; 6:14. This explains satisfactorily the LXX. translation ἐξ (= ב) for Heb. כ. Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* 175, says: "One would expect something like בְּאַרְבַּע."—For הָאֵס (2:17), LXX. has εὐλαβέσθω; Pesh. וְנִדְחָל, and Targ. סִפּוּ. These translators seem to have read הָאֵס.—For the second וְגַם (3:7), LXX. reads וְאִם.—For נִקְהָ (5:3), Targ. gives לִקְי, which has perhaps, as Wright suggests, arisen from the confusion of נִקְהָ with נִכְהָ.—For עֵינִים (5:6), LXX. reads עֵינִים and renders ἡ ἀδικία αὐτῶν. Wellhausen, 178, follows LXX. and in addition omits as a gloss וְיִאֲמָר זֶה הָאֵס הַיּוֹצֵאת הַיּוֹצֵאת. Pesh. seems to follow LXX., and gives הָרֹבָא. Symmachus' suggestion πρὸς τοῦτο ἀποβλέπονσι is certainly based upon the Heb. עֵינִים, but it is not an exact translation.—LXX. renders נִהְיָה (8:10) by ἔσται, probably reading יִהְיָה. Lowe thinks, however, that the LXX. translator read נִהְיָה as an Aramaic future. At any rate, the verb should be taken as a past, as in Vulg., Pesh., and in some MSS. of the LXX.

(c) Corruption of the Text. Though the confusion of consonants is, in a sense, due to the corruption of the text, yet, under this special heading, I include those strange and remarkable variations which compel me to ascribe them to the fact that the original text was very badly corrupted and obscure.

For הַשִּׁיבֵנו (1:6), Pesh. gives אֲתִדְכִּירוּ. Perhaps the text was corrupt, but it is possible that the translator read הַשִּׁיבֵנו.—For הַשְּׂאֲנִיִּים (1:15), Vulg. has "opulentas;" Targ. דִּשְׁרֵן שְׁלוּא; Pesh.

דַּמְחִיגְשִׁין; the English Version (both A. and R.) follows the Targ. But LXX. gives the correct rendering, τὰ συννεπιτιθέμενα, which seems to be for הַנִּשְׁאִים, as Schleusner well suggested.* —For יִצָּא (2:7, after בִּי), LXX. seems to have read נִצַּב and renders εἰστήκει. But the Heb. is to be preferred, because it suits the context better.† —LXX. renders the second half of 2:12 by διότι ὁ ἀπτόμενος ὑμῶν ὡς ὁ ἀπτόμενος τῆς κόρης τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ αὐτοῦ, as if the text had read כִּנְגַל בִּבְבַּח. This is followed by Targ. But Vulg. and Pesh. give faithful translations of the more vivid original Hebrew.—For וְנָלוּ (2:15), LXX. incorrectly reads וְנָסוּ, and renders καταφεύχονται.—For מִמִּעֵן (2:17), LXX. gives ἐκ νεφελῶν, and Pesh. מִרוּמָא. It is probable that the former read מִעֵן (מִי), and the latter מִמִּעְלָה.—For יִשְׁמְיוּ (3:5), LXX. has ἐπίθετε.—מִהֲלָכִים (3:7), a very difficult word, is rendered by LXX. ἀναστρεφόμενος, by Vulg. “ambulantes,” and by Pesh. מִהֲלָכִין. Hitzig’s objection to Gesenius’ interpretation of the word does not prove that the form is an Aramaic hiph. participle from הִלַּךְ. Wellhausen, 176: מִהֲלָכִים muss die Bedeutung “Zutritt” haben; cf. Jer. 30:21.—For הָאֵבֶן הָרִאשָׁה (4:7), LXX. probably reads הָאֵבֶן יְרוּשָׁה, as Schleusner supposed, and renders τὸν λίθον τῆς κληρονομίας. Vulg. translates “lapidem primarium,” and Pesh. also has כִּנְפֵּא רִישִׁיתָא. הָרִאשָׁה is rendered by Aquila τὸν πρωτεύοντα, by Symmachus τὸν ἄκρον, and by Theodotion τὸν πρῶτον. Targ. gives the interpretation, יֵת מִשִּׁיתָּהּ דְּאֵבֶן, שְׂמִיָּהּ מִלְּקַדְמִין. Weighing all these translations, we must reject the LXX. reading and adopt the Heb. as the original, though it is very difficult.—תִּשְׂאוֹת הֵן הֵן לָהּ (4:7) is also very difficult. LXX. seems to have derived the word תִּשְׂאוֹת from שׂוּה, and renders ἰσότητα χάριτος χάριτα αὐτῆς. This is followed by Aquila’s ἐξισώσει χάριτος, and the Vulg. “exaequabit gratiam gratiae eius.” Symmachus gives πρὸς χάριν αὐτῆς; Theodotion offers κατὰπανσις, κατὰπανσις αὐτῇ; Pesh. has דְּשׁוּיָתָא וְדִרְהֲמָא. These translations sufficiently testify to the helpless corruption of the Hebrew text. Wellhausen: “Der Sinn der letzten Worte des Verses lässt sich nur muthmassen.”—LXX. renders מִשׁוּטְטִים (4:10) by οἱ ἐπιβλέποντες, and this is followed by the Syriac הִירָן. But better is the Vulg. “discurrunt,” which is adopted in the English Version.

* See, however, Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* 174, and Isa. 37:29.

† Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* 174, suggests עֲמַךְ (cf. 3:5).

—For מעליהם (4:12), LXX. seems to have read מעלים.—For כמורה (5:3), LXX. reads either למות or כמות, and renders *ὡς θανάτου*. This, however, may be due to the omission of the final ה in the original MSS. Tischendorf's text omits the second כמורה. Vulg. has "sicut ibi scriptum est" for the first כמורה, and "ex hoc similiter" for the second. Wellhausen: probably read מזה כמה (= منذ) "since how long."—For על כסאו (6:13), LXX. gives (καὶ ἔσται ἱερεὺς) ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ. Wellhausen, 179, proposes to read מימיני.—For האבכה (7:3), LXX. seems to have read בא כה, as Wright suggests, and renders *εἰσελήλυθεν ὧδε*.—For שבתי זממתי (8:15), LXX. gives *παρατέταγμαί καὶ διανυνόημαι*. Wright's suggestion that the translator read השבתי is plausible.—For בשעיריכם (8:16) is supported by all versions but Targ., which seems to have read בעיריכם, and renders בקריכון.—For וישבו ערים (8:20), Vulg. reads וישבו בערים and renders "et habitent in civitatibus."

3. *Recensional variations*.—These are the variations which can be best explained by supposing the translators to have used MSS. more or less different from the MSS. on which our Massoretic text is based. Some of the variations in this class are to be preferred to the Massoretic text, while others should be rejected. We note the following:

(a) Errors made by the copyists of the Hebrew text. These are the deviations from the correct Hebrew text, which are solely due to the copyists of the Hebrew text, and which were adopted by the translators. (a) *Addition*: For אל תהיו (1:4) LXX. reads ואל תהיו.—For יהוה (1:13, 16; 8:17) LXX. reads יהוה צבאות, Pesh. following LXX. in 1:16 and 8:17.—For ביתי (1:16) LXX. reads וביתי.—After ואמר (1:6) LXX. adds *πρὸς αὐτόν*, and is followed by Pesh. But other similar passages favor the Hebrew reading. (β) *Omission*: From לעבדיהם (2:13) Pesh. omits ל.—In 4:2, the *K^{thibh}* ויאמר must be a copyist's error (Wellhausen, 141). The *Q^{ere}* suits the context better, and is found in many MSS., LXX., Itala, Vulg., Targ. and Pesh.—From ויזעק אחי (6:8) LXX. omits אחי, and in this is followed by Pesh.—For באו (6:10) LXX., Pesh. and Targ. (in *London Polyglot*) read בא.—From 6:12, LXX. and Pesh. omit לאמר in both cases.—צבאות (7:4) is omitted in some Codd., Targ. and

Pesh.—(γ) *Repetition*: For שבעה ושבעה (4:2) LXX. and Vulg. read simply שבעה. We are either to take these words distributively, or perhaps better to regard the second as a mere repetition by mistake of the first (so Hitzig, Ewald, Henderson). Köhler and Wright conjecture that there are two sets of seven pipes each. Briggs favors this view. But this interpretation does not seem to be more natural than to regard the second שבעה as a copyist's error. (Wellhausen, 176-7).—(δ) *Explanatory or marginal glosses*, which crept into the text: For לדריש (1:1) Vulg. reads לדריש המלך, as in Hag. 1:1 and 15.—After צייתי (1:6) LXX. adds ἐν πνεύματί μου. This may have been copied from 7:12.—After את הורה (2:4) LXX. adds καὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατέαξαν.—After ולמיעדים טובים (8:19) LXX. gives καὶ εὐφρανθήσεσθε.—(ε) *Changes made by the copyists* to avoid difficulties or ambiguities: For אתנו (1:6) some Codd. and Theodotion have ὑμῖν.—For בין ההרסים (1:8) LXX. seems to have read *בין ההרסים and renders ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν δύο ὀρέων; and in this is followed by the Arabic. Hitzig thinks that the LXX. translator may have read ההוררים.—For הרי ציון (2:11) LXX. has εἰς Σιών, which does not suit the context. Lowe, however, compares this with a similar mistake in Ezek. 21:15.—For אתך (3:4) LXX. has αὐτόν. Wellhausen, 176, proposes to read אתו.—For נרחה (4:2) LXX. reads נרות.—For וידעת (4:9) some Codd., Vulg., Targ. and Pesh. read וידעתם (plur.; so Wellhausen, 177).—For וזאת (5:7) LXX. has ἰδοὺ, and Vulg. “ecce”; Wellhausen, 178, adopts והנה from LXX. text, or simply ו.—For עמכם (8:23) LXX. reads עמך in both cases. Some copies have μετὰ σοῦ for the first, and μετὰ ὑμῶν for the second, and Pesh. is like this. But Vulg. and Targ. support the Hebrew.—(ζ) *Changes which cannot be easily accounted for*: For ובהר (2:16) Targ. gives ויחרעי and Pesh. ונצטבא.—For ויקשי ללכת (6:7) LXX. gives καὶ ἐπέβλεπον τοῦ πορεύεσθαι, and other copies καὶ ἐξήτουν, καὶ ἐπέβλεπον τοῦ πορεύεσθαι. It is possible that the translator read ויבקר.—For זרע השלום (8:12) LXX. seems to have had a different text, and gives ἡ δειξω εἰρήνην. Wellhausen, 181, reads: כי זרע השלום. — For והלכו יושבי אמת אל אמת (8:21) LXX. gives the strange translation καὶ συνελέσονται κατοικοῦντες πέντε πόλεις εἰς πόλιν μίαν. But other copies have κατοικοῦντες μίαν εἰς μίαν.

(b) The original readings preserved in the ancient MSS. used by the translators. All the recensional variations are not corruptions and incorrect readings, but some of them are to be preferred to the Massoretic text, and seem to be the original readings. We mention the following:

In 1:8, Pesh. correctly omits **והנה**.—Before **שרקים** (1:8) LXX. and Pesh. have the conjunction **ו**.—For **ויאמר אלי המלאך** (1:9) Pesh. gives **וענא מלאכא דמיכלל בי ואמר לי**. This is perhaps to be preferred, in view of the similar formulae in this paragraph (1:10, 11, 12, 13).—For **בארץ** (1:11) LXX. reads **בכל הארץ**.—In 1:13, LXX. adds **ו** before **דברים נהמים**.—In 2:2 LXX. and Pesh. read **מה אלה אדני**.—In 2:4, LXX. omits **לאמר** and gives **πρός μέ** instead. This reading agrees with the form of the similar passages in 1:9; 2:2, 6, 8, etc., and is probably correct.—For **לירות** (2:4) Targ. seems to have read **לזרות** and renders **למיתבר**. This suits the context remarkably well, and even adds a rhetorical force, and therefore I am inclined to take it as the original reading.—From **ונסו** (2:10) LXX., Vulg., and Pesh. omit the conjunction **ו**.—For **לי** (2:15) LXX. and Pesh. read **לו**.—In 3:1, LXX. and Vulg. read **ויראני יהוה**.—For **ויאמר יהוה** (3:2) Pesh. read **יהוה מלאך יהוה** (*cf.* Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, 175).—For **עונך** (3:4) LXX. reads **עונך**. Wellhausen considers **ויאמר אלי עונך** . . . as a parenthetical insertion.—For **אליכם** (4:9) LXX. reads **אליך**. This suits the context well, and seems to be the correct reading, though all the other ancient versions favor the Hebrew.—For **בית אל** (7:2) LXX. Targ., Pesh. and Baer read **ביתאל** as one word.—Before **גר** (7:10) LXX., Vulg. and Targ. add the conjunction **ו**.—Before **לאמר** (8:1) many Codd. and Pesh. read **אלי**. In spite of the objection of the Massorah this seems to be the correct reading in view of 4:8; 6:9; 7:4, 8.

III.

VARIATIONS OF DOUBTFUL ORIGIN.

While there are not a few doubtful cases among the variations which have thus far been discussed, it is even more true of the variations under this special heading, variations which are extremely difficult to explain. Their origin may be accounted for as:

1. *Recensional, or a change made by the translator.* For instance:

In 2:4, **את קרנות הגוים** is rendered by LXX. τὰ τέσσαρα κέρατα. The Hebrew is to be preferred.—For **יגם** (7:2), part of a proper name, LXX. has Ἀρβεσεσίρ.

2. *Recensional, or due to the carelessness on the part of the translator.* Note the following examples:

For **יהורה** (2:4) LXX. reads **יהוה**.—For **בת ציון** (2:14) Targ. reads **בית ציון**, and renders **כנשתא דציון**. The translator, however, may have been misled by the usual *scriptio defectiva* in the original MSS.

3. *Recensional, or misinterpretation of the translator.* Thus:

For **ואמר** (3:5) Vulg. and Pesh. read **וַיֹּאמֶר**, and, as the result, the former gives the duplicate statement that Joshua was clothed with new garments, and both present an unpleasantly abrupt change from the direct imperative **הסירו** to the indirect jussive **ישימו**. It is best to follow the Heb. and Targ., and read **ואמר**, because it suits the context best and also strengthens the contrast between **צניק** and **בגדים**.—For **הנגב** (7:7) LXX. gives ἡ ὄρη; Pesh. seems to follow LXX. and renders **טורא**.

4. *Due to the corruption of the text, or an intentional change made by the translator.* So we have:

In 1:6, LXX. has an additional word δέχεσθε, which is probably for **קרו**, as has been suggested; and this reading may have arisen from some confusion connected with the word **הקי**.—For **גוים** (8:22) Targ. has **בילכין**. The translator may have given his interpretation of the original.

5. *Recensional, or due to the condition of the text:*

For **הנבאים** (1:5) Pesh. read **נביאי**. The absence of the final **ם** in the original text may have misled the Syriac translator to read **ינביאי** for **הנבאי**.—For **וישובו** (1:6) Pesh. has **ואתריעו**.—For **ונחם** (1:7) Pesh. gives **ויבנא**.—In 2:9, Pesh. omits **לה** and gives **בגוה** in its place.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

It is undoubtedly true that some of the explanations offered in this thesis are far from satisfactory. But, taking it for granted that most of them are correct or probable, it may not be uninter-

esting to observe some of the characteristic variations in the different versions. Most of the variations in the tense of a verb are found in LXX. The changes from one part of speech into another are found only in LXX. and Pesh. Variations due to a different pointing are characteristic of LXX., but those due to a different grouping of words are rare outside of Pesh. LXX. has many additions, but Pesh. has only a few, and Vulg. none. Omissions are most numerous in Pesh., and half as many in LXX., but very rare in Vulg. and Targ. Variations arising from a violation of the principles of Hebrew syntax are found almost exclusively in LXX. Some explanatory glosses are given in Targ. and Pesh., but more in LXX. Obscure rendering is a characteristic of Pesh., and too literal translation is common in LXX. Paraphrase and interpretation are abundant in Targ., but most of the strange, inexplicable variations are found in LXX. Misinterpretations are quite numerous in all versions, but original readings are preserved more in LXX. and Pesh. than in the other versions.

EMENDATIONS OF THE MASSORETIC TEXT ON THE BASIS OF THE
ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS AND VERSIONS.

- 1: 8. Omit וְהִנֵּה with Pesh. and read וְשִׁרְקִים following LXX. and Pesh.
 9. Read וַיֵּץ הַמֶּלֶאךָ הַדָּבָר בִּי וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלִי with Pesh.
 11. Read בְּכֹל הָאָרֶץ, following LXX.
 13. Read וּדְבָרִים נְהֻמִּים with LXX.
 15. Read הַנְּשָׂאִים with LXX. (but LXX. συνεπιθεμένα) and see Wellhausen, *Kleine Propheten*, 174.
 17. Read עֲרִים with LXX.
- 2: 2. Read מִיָּה אֱלֹהֵי אֲדָנִי, following LXX. and Pesh.
 4. Read אֱלִי for לֹאֲמִר, following LXX.; and לִידוֹת for לְזֵרוֹת, following Targ.
 10. Omit the conjunction ׀ from וְנָסוּ, (so also Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, 175) following LXX., Vulg. and Pesh.; and read בְּאַרְבַּע with several MSS., Vulg. and Pesh.
 15. Read לִי for לוֹ, following LXX. and Pesh.
- 3: 1. Insert יְהוָה after וַיּוֹרֵאנִי, following LXX. and Vulg.
 2. Read וַיֹּאמֶר מֶלֶאךָ יְהוָה with Pesh.
 4. Read עֲוִיךָ, following LXX. (so Wellhausen, 175).
- 4: 2. Read וְאֲמִר with the *Qere*; and omit וּשְׁבַעָה.
 9. Read אֲלִיךָ with LXX.

- 5: 9. Read בכנפֿידֿק, following one of Baer's MSS.
- 10. Read הִנֵּה for הִמָּה, following two MSS.
- 6: 6. Read יִצְחָק with Ewald. Wright's objection to this emendation is not conclusive.
- 10. Read וּמֵאֵת טוֹבִיָּה with Baer, following some ancient Hebrew and Greek MSS.
- 13. Omit וְהוּא יִבְנֶה אֶת הַיֵּכֶל יְהוָה, following LXX.
- 7: 2. Read בִּיחָאֵל (so Baer-Delitzsch) as one word, following LXX., Targ. and Pesh.
- 10. Read וְגַר with LXX., Vulg. and Targ.
- 13. Read כֹּאשֶׁר קִרְאֵתִי, following Pesh.
- 8: 1. Insert אֵלֵי before לֹא־אֶמַּר, following many Codd. and Pesh.
- 9. Omit הַיֵּכֶל with Hitzig.

VITA.

I, Eiji Asada, was born on the 22d of May 1865, in a small town called Hanaoka in the southern part of Japan. In the Spring of my sixth year I was sent to a public school at Tokuyama, four miles from my birth-place, and was graduated from the same in July 1879. Then I went to Yamaguchi High School, Hiroshima High School and Kyoto High School, from the last of which I was graduated in June 1883. In the following Spring I entered the First Higher Middle College, Tokyo, and completed the Science course in June 1887. After having spent one year in the department of Mathematics in the Imperial University, Tokyo, I came to the United States of America in order to take some theological studies. In September 1888 I entered the Theological Seminary of the Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and was graduated from the same in May 1891 with the degree of D.B. While in the school of Theology I became so interested in Semitic studies and Old Testament work that I attended Professor Harper's Summer school for five sessions and studied Old Testament literature and Semitic languages. In 1891-2 I pursued the same studies in New York City under Professors Briggs and Brown at the Union Theological Seminary, and also under Professor Gottheil at Columbia College. In October 1892 I entered the Graduate School of The University of Chicago, and took further studies in Semitics and the Old Testament for one year under Professors W. R. Harper, Hirsch, R. F. Harper, Price and Goodspeed.

